

## Message Text

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 TEL AV 01493 011442Z  
ACTION NEA-10

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05 H-01 INR-07  
L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15  
USIA-06 SSM-03 IO-13 ACDA-12 TRSE-00 OMB-01 /086 W  
-----115614 020308Z /61

R 011338Z FEB 78  
FM AMEMBASSY TEL AVIV  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 969  
INFO AMEMBASSY AMMAN  
AMEMBASSY BEIRUT  
AMEMBASSY CAIRO  
AMEMBASSY DAMASCUS  
AMCONSUL JERUSALEM

C O N F I D E N T I A L TEL AVIV 1493

E.O. 11652: GDS  
TAGS: IS, JO, EG, PLO, PDEV  
SUBJECT: THE VIEW FROM GAZA

REF: (A) BEIRUT 0204, (B) TEL AVIV 0309, (C) 77 TEL AVIV 10958  
1. IN CONSIDERING THE FUTURE, WE THINK THAT THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE SHAWWAS (THE SPOKESMAN OF THE NATIVE GAZANS) AND THE PLO (THE SPOKESMAN OF THE REFUGEES) IS AN INTERESTING ONE. THE SHAWWAS FEEL THAT THEY SHOULD BE THE RIGHTFUL POWERS OF GAZA, YET RECOGNIZE THAT THEY ARE IN NO POSITION TO INFLUENCE THE COURSE OF EVENTS. THIS MAKES THEM OPPORTUNISTS, AND EXPLAINS THE APPROPRIATE SHAWWA NODS WHEN THE PLO WAS RIDING HIGH. HOWEVER, IF THE SHAWWA'S GAME IS TO MAINTAIN THEIR DOMINANT POSITION IN GAZA, IT IS UNREALISTIC TO EXPECT THEM TO COOPERATE WITH A PLO OF WHATEVER STRIPE, IF THEY HAVE A CHOICE. EVEN IF "MODERATES" WERE IN FIRMER CONTROL OF THE PLO AND INTERESTED (AND ABLE?) IN KEEPING GUNMEN AND RADICALS IN LINE, THEY WOULD STILL POSSESS THE GUNS AND RESOURCES TO THREATEN SHAWWA PREDOMINANCE IN GAZA. THE  
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 TEL AV 01493 011442Z

PLO WOULD ALSO BE ABLE TO MOBILIZE THE NUMEROUS BUT POLITICALLY DORMANT REFUGEES MORE EFFECTIVELY THAN THE SHAWWAS.

2. IN DISCUSSING POSSIBLE FUTURE COOPERATION WITH THE PLO, MAYOR RASHID SHAWWA SUGGESTED IN DECEMBER (REF C) THAT HE WOULD NOT MIND PARTICIPATING IN A NEW PALESTINIAN LEADERSHIP EMERGING FROM A SPLINTERED PLO AND LOCAL WEST BANK AND

GAZA LEADERS. TOWN MANAGER ISAM SHAWWA (HIS NEPHEW) HANDLED THIS SUBJECT DIFFERENTLY IN A SUBSEQUENT CONVERSATION (REF B) HE STATED THAT HE RESPECTED PLO-ASSOCIATED INTELLECTUALS AND PROFESSIONAL MEN, AND SAW A NEED AND A PLACE FOR THEM IN A WEST BANK AND GAZA TO WHICH PEACE HAD RETURNED. (AND FROM WHICH THE ISRAELIS HAD DEPARTED). BOTH SHAWWAS APPEAR TO BE WILLING TO COOPERATE WITH PLO "MODERATES" ONLY AFTER THEY HAVE LEFT THE PLO FOLD OR THE ORGANIZATION HAS FALLEN APART. ONLY THEN DO "MODERATES" BECOME THE VALUABLE HUMAN RAW MATERIAL OF THE PALESTINIAN PEOPLE RATHER THAN A THREAT TO SHAWWA PREDOMINANCE.

3. SINCE THE IDF PRESUMABLY IS NOT GOING TO MAINTAIN ORDER IN GAZA INDEFINITELY, THE SHAWWAS PREFER THAT THE JORDANIANS TAKE ON THE TASK. THE GOJ, AS COMPARED TO THE PLO, HAVE FAR LESS REASON TO SUPPLANT THE SHAWWAS AND MORE TO COOPERATE WITH THEM. ON THE OTHER HAND, WE WONDER HOW HUSSEIN FEELS ABOUT A FUTURE GOJ ROLE IN GAZA. WE WOULD THEREFORE APPRECIATE EMBASSY AMMAN'S VIEWS ON THE SUBJECT.  
LEWIS

CONFIDENTIAL

NNN

## Message Attributes

**Automatic Decaptioning:** Z  
**Capture Date:** 01 jan 1994  
**Channel Indicators:** n/a  
**Current Classification:** UNCLASSIFIED  
**Concepts:** CAT-C, NO HARD COPY  
**Control Number:** n/a  
**Copy:** SINGLE  
**Draft Date:** 01 feb 1978  
**Decaption Date:** 20 Mar 2014  
**Decaption Note:** 25 YEAR REVIEW  
**Disposition Action:** RELEASED  
**Disposition Approved on Date:**  
**Disposition Case Number:** n/a  
**Disposition Comment:** 25 YEAR REVIEW  
**Disposition Date:** 20 Mar 2014  
**Disposition Event:**  
**Disposition History:** n/a  
**Disposition Reason:**  
**Disposition Remarks:**  
**Document Number:** 1978TELAV01493  
**Document Source:** CORE  
**Document Unique ID:** 00  
**Drafter:** n/a  
**Enclosure:** NO HARD COPY RECEIVED, MADE CAT-C, OGEN PER KEIDTH WHITE  
**Executive Order:** GS  
**Errors:** N/A  
**Expiration:**  
**Film Number:** N780002-0296  
**Format:** TEL  
**From:** TEL AVIV  
**Handling Restrictions:**  
**Image Path:**  
**ISecure:** 2  
**Legacy Key:** link1978/newtext/t197802104/aaaadjxt.tel  
**Line Count:** 83  
**Litigation Code IDs:**  
**Litigation Codes:**  
**Litigation History:**  
**Locator:** TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM  
**Message ID:** 77806dcd-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc  
**Office:** ACTION NEA  
**Original Classification:** CONFIDENTIAL  
**Original Handling Restrictions:** NODIS  
**Original Previous Classification:** n/a  
**Original Previous Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Page Count:** 2  
**Previous Channel Indicators:** n/a  
**Previous Classification:** CONFIDENTIAL  
**Previous Handling Restrictions:** NODIS  
**Reference:** 78 BEIRUT 204, 78 TEL AVIV 309, 77 TEL AVIV 10958  
**Retention:** 0  
**Review Action:** RELEASED, APPROVED  
**Review Content Flags:**  
**Review Date:** 02 jun 2005  
**Review Event:**  
**Review Exemptions:** n/a  
**Review Media Identifier:**  
**Review Release Date:** n/a  
**Review Release Event:** n/a  
**Review Transfer Date:**  
**Review Withdrawn Fields:** n/a  
**SAS ID:** 3437559  
**Secure:** LOCK1  
**Status:** NATIVE  
**Subject:** THE VIEW FROM GAZA  
**TAGS:** PDEV, OGEN, IS, JO, EG, PLO  
**To:** STATE SS  
**Type:** TE  
**vdkgvwkey:** odbc://SAS/SAS.dbo.SAS\_Docs/77806dcd-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc  
**Review Markings:**  
Sheryl P. Walter  
Declassified/Released  
US Department of State  
EO Systematic Review  
20 Mar 2014  
**Markings:** Sheryl P. Walter Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 20 Mar 2014